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given on p. 528). Others are Tsonara the fisherman (*ara* = to catch fish with rod and hook); Ataras, the pinna shell; Kuka, the crab; Toa, the fowl; Idetesoan, men carrying a prisoner on a stretcher (*tesoan*) to the place where he is to be eaten; Bannus, a bird with wings spread and an almond in his mouth. Another group represents two men with a dog behind them, pursued by a crocodile which is trying to eat the dog, and another, two brothers, one of whom is teaching the other how to copulate. The Milky Way is called Ru'in (= water) and is thought to be a river. The tides are connected with a constellation called Bobo, which is supposed to resemble a fish. When Bobo sets into the sea the tide comes in and swallows up the shore, i.e. there is an exceptionally high tide. When Bobo twinkles, it is because the fish is eating a stone.

The people living on the east coast of Buka have more knowledge of the stars than those of the north coast of Bougainville, because they use them for guidance on long voyages in big plank canoes, the Bougainville people contenting themselves with much shorter local journeys. The Kurtatchi people told me this, and it was confirmed by inquiries made on a visit to Hanahan (E. Buka), where I obtained a detailed description of a canoe being steered by the stars to the island of Nissan (see p. 381). At Kurtatchi the people were not much interested in these matters, and few knew anything about them.

FLORA AND FAUNA

I can make no attempt to give a scientific account of the flora and fauna of the region. It seems to be essentially similar to that of other parts of Melanesia, which has been described by Guppy and others. The following notes are given in order to provide a picture of the environment in which the natives live and work, and on the products of which they are dependent for their subsistence and for the means of manufacturing practically all of their material possessions.

All, even the children, have an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the trees, shrubs, and even of the small plants and grasses that grow in their locality. Many of these are, of course, utilized in some way or other, as food, or for 'making medicine', or in connexion with one or other of the native crafts. But they can

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614 other clans, and even where only the two above mentioned were represented at the time of my inquiry, it was stated that there had been others which might be reintroduced at any time by marriage. Naboin and Nakarib are everywhere recognized as the most important, as they are the most numerous, but it was made quite clear to me that the others are not in any sense regarded as subdivisions of these, but as standing in their own right.

With every clan there is associated the name of a certain creature, generally, but not always, a bird. This association inevitably suggests totemism, but many of the recognized features of totemism as it is generally understood are here absent. The word totem is used in what follows with the reservations hereinafter to be made clear.

The clans and their associated totems will first be discussed with reference to the local differences which exist in various parts of the area.

Clans of Buka

On the island of Buka and its adjacent islets there are, in general, only two clans represented at the present time. They are called, over most of the island, Naboin and Nakarib, the same as the two chief clans on Bougainville. But on Petats and some of the other islands they are always referred to by the name of the birds associated with them, Manu being invariably substituted for Naboin and Kekeleo for Nakarib. The Petats word for 'bird' is *malai*, and in inquiring to which clan an individual belongs the appropriate formula is: *Sā a malai tamulo?* 'What is your bird?' I understood from the Petats people that *mānu* was an eagle.[1] Mr. Gordon Thomas, speaking of the island of Pororan, refers to it as a hawk (1931, p. 227). I did not see this bird on the island of Petats, but the bird pointed out to me as *mānu* at Kurtatchi was certainly an eagle, though of what species I cannot say. *Kekelēo* (or *kililiau*, the pronunciation differs slightly in different villages) is a somewhat vague term, which might be translated 'fowl', and while applied primarily to the bush-fowl or megapode, is used on Petats to refer to the domestic variety, the bush fowl being referred to as *kolo͡ŋ*. On Petats, at any rate, the terms Manu and Kekeleo were used

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[1] It is not the frigate-bird as stated by Parkinson ('07, p. 481). The frigate-bird is known to these people; it follows the shoals of bonito, but it plays no part in their culture comparable to that which it fills in other islands of the Solomon group.

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solely as names for the clans, and their connexion with the birds bearing those names appeared to have lost all its significance.

On the Lontis coast (north-west Buka) the two clans are called Lemanmanu and Lemankoa (associated with *mānu* and *kekelēo*) respectively. At Hanahan, on the east coast, they used the name Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu* and Lemankoa for the other, but they said that its *malai* was not *kekelēo* but *koto'ina*, 'a big bird that catches fish in the sea'. This appears to be the fish-hawk, and the word is the same as that which appears in the Kurtatchi dialect, with that meaning, as *katoi'ian*. In the hill district of Buka they use the term Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu*, and Nakarib for that associated with *kekelēo*.

In some of the Buka villages there are a few individuals who belong to a clan called Nakas, associated with the dog. At Novar this clan was described as 'half Manu, half Kekeleo', which may refer to the belief that its first member was the child of a Naboin man and a Nakarib woman, as given in the Saposa myth discussed on p. 38. At the village of Tung, Nakas was described as a new clan. At Petats they said that there used to be representatives of Nakas, but that they were all dead. It might be revived in the future, if any of the Petats men were to marry a woman of that clan from elsewhere and she were to come and live at Petats.

Clans of North Bougainville

On the north coast of Bougainville the list of clans varies slightly in different villages. I give all those which came to my notice, passing along the coast from west to east (see map).

In the group of little islands called collectively Saposa, three different lists were given to me on separate occasions. The names of the clans agree in all, but not the associated totems. The man who gave me the third list volunteered the information that the first two, Nakarib and Naboin, belonged to the olden days when there was much fighting. But the two old women who told the story of the origin of the clans, stated emphatically that Morena gave the people all the clans in the olden days.

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1. *List of clans at Saposa*

Names.	*Associated totems as given by:*		
	Two old women.	*Old man*	*Middle-aged man.*
1. Nakarib	Katoian (hawk)	Katoian (hawk)	Katoian (hawk)
2. Naboin	Manu (eagle)	Manu (eagle)	Manu (eagle)

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divisions of Naboin or Nakarib.[1] As a matter of fact, representatives of the others were so few in number in the villages I knew most intimately, that to all intents and purposes the organization might have been a dual one, and in view of this, and of the variations in the totems of the others, it is perhaps permissible to hazard a suggestion that these are the original clans, the others being newer developments, in spite of their occurrence in the origin myth given on p. 38. The substitution of Kariba, apparently a species of tree-rat, for Katoi'ian, hawk, in the Hahon district might perhaps be explained on the ground that as it is a little distance inland, the fish-hawk would not be so much in evidence, but this does not account for the substitution in the case of Tiop, which is a small island off the Bougainville coast.

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ORIGIN OF CLANS AND TOTEMS

It does not seem to be thought that the people are descended from the creature whose name is associated with their clan. The origin myth is the same, with local variations, throughout the area, and the same myth is also widespread in other parts of Melanesia. One version of it has been given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, p. 67), where reference is made to parallels in other places. The essential features of the story are as follows: An old woman, whose name differs in the different versions of the tale as I heard it in several villages, is left behind when all the people flee in their canoes before a terrible monster, in some villages said to be a spirit, in some a giant, and in others a wild pig, who ravaged the land. Left alone, she copulates with a banana, and in course of time bears two sons, who, when fully grown, kill the monster. When this becomes known, the people who fled return, among them two girls who become the wives of the two brothers. From these two couples all the people are descended. In one version, obtained from the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka, the end of the story is that the two brothers were turned into birds,

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[1] Such information as I was able to collect during a short visit to the Kunua mountain district of central Bougainville indicates that in that area, where the culture differs considerably from that of the coast, there are actually two primary divisions, each divided into several subsidiary clans, the names of which were given as follows: Kérakera (Eagle) division: Tókora, Arási, Aratawérit, Arawiaka, Tówo. Hubdrifa (Hornbill) division: Anakópu, Bwatasfára, Tásu'ul, Aitutú'a, Bokapusú'e. No meaning was assigned to the words used for the subdivisions. Unfortunately, my opportunities for investigation in this area were very limited.

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606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the ● 184 lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law 764 lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbē-* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃ̄ma-* or *tʃ̄oa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *panumē*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbē-*, even where the
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585 The boy and the girl are then supposed to weep, the girl a great deal, the boy only a little; he must shed tears but must not cry aloud, he would be ashamed to do so. Some boys do not weep at all.

They are carried round in *kōma* formation, accompanied by all the other people. They go round once only, then the girl is taken back to her own hut, and the boy to the hut he slept in the night before. This may be the *tobar* (boys' house), but if he has friends in the village he may sleep with them.

When the sun is well up they all *kōma* again, the couple being carried as before.

585 417 A platform has been prepared beforehand, made of areca-palm planks, and laid on the *tagoan* of the girl's mother's hut. It is ornamented with flowers and aromatic plants, canarium almond and sugar-cane, &c., and is covered with women's hoods. A fence is set up round it, made of coco-nut palm leaves, so that it is all enclosed.

585 When the *kōma* is finished, and the couple have been carried round once again, all the people who will in future stand to the boy in the relation of *waris* (his wife's parents, actual and classificatory) sit down on the ground in two lines opposite to each other, with their legs stretched out so that the soles of the feet of those composing one line are touching the soles of the feet of the people in the other line. The rest of the people keep up the *kōma*. The bridal pair are carried round the dancers once, then they are set down, and must walk along the line of outstretched legs.

After this the bridal pair and those accompanying them go inside the enclosure. The relative of the girl who has been carrying the boy sits down on the platform that has been prepared inside the enclosure, and takes the boy on his knees. Then the relative of the boy who previously carried the girl sits down beside him and takes the girl on her knees. The two sit side by side, close together. All the women put on their hoods. From now onwards the rules of avoidance between the husband and his wife's parents (*waris*), and between the parents of husband and parents of wife (*suwan*), must be observed. (For these see Chap. II, pp. 72–5.) Then 585 the boy's father takes the girl's legs and lays them across the legs of ● 184 the boy, so that the boy's legs are underneath and the girl's over them. In an account obtained from Tabut it was said that the boy's father takes one of the girl's legs and lays it across the boy, and then takes one of the boy's legs and lays it across the girl, so

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that the legs are intertwined. This may be a local difference; the account was quite clear and definite in both cases. At Tabut there was added: 'Then they all talk to the girl, and tell her: "Now you know how to hold your husband's skin, you must not be ashamed any more now."'

Then the boy's mother's brother (at Tabut they said any of the older men of the village would do as well) takes a piece of pig out of the ceremonial basket (*seban*), cuts off a bit, and holds it to the mouth of the girl; she must only smell it, not bite it. Then he puts it to the mouth of the boy in the same way. Neither of them must actually touch the meat. Then he puts the meat back into the *seban*. Then he takes a coco-nut shell full of water, and holds it to the girl's mouth, but she must not drink any of it. In the same way he holds it to the boy's mouth. He then takes areca-nuts and pepper-stick. He breaks one areca-nut in half. One half is given to the boy, who hands it to the girl. She bites off a piece with her teeth, and gives the rest back to the boy. Then the pepper-stick is dipped into the lime-pot, and the boy gives it to the girl, who eats part of it. What remains is dipped again into the lime, and the girl gives it to the boy, who must chew it. If he is not shy he manages to chew all of it, but sometimes he is so shy he cannot chew, and it remains in his mouth.

Then the women who are the boy's *waris*, who have been sitting on the ground all this time with their hoods over their faces, are told to lift up the hoods and look at their son-in-law so that they will know him. 'Look in the face of your *waris*, it won't do for you to go making some other man think you are his *waris*.' Then the young couple untwine their legs and get down off the knees of their respective *tawaé*. Then a man goes to the slit-gong and beats it with a succession of short quick beats, thus:

. . . . . .

The other men blow on the Pan-pipes, and the women *hōma*. The *seban* are hung up in the rafters. Food is distributed.

After this the boy gets up and goes off at once to his own village. The girl waits till all the women belonging to the boy's village are ready, then the boy's mother, who is *ruanbē* to the girl, carries her pick-a-back. All the men and women relatives of the boy go along with them, and come to their own village. As soon as they arrive, a big feast is made for the young married couple. All the food is

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585 put on the platform that was previously prepared in the boy's mother's hut. All the kinsmen of the boy, male and female, who belong to the same clan (that is, all the members of his lineage) go and eat with the young couple, and they can bring in any one they wish, irrespective of clan. They eat all the food that was given them at the girl's village, which the women have brought back with them. The young couple really eat this time, instead of pretending.

Then the married pair lie down together on one bed[1] inside the boy's mother's hut and the marriage is consummated. My informants ended their account by saying: 'The man wants the woman all the time, they have connexion again and again, they go on all the time, they cannot sleep.'

585 The account given at Tabut differs somewhat from the preceding one obtained at Kurtatchi. Apart from the details previously ●184 mentioned, the ceremony is described as taking place at the boy's village, and after it, all the boy's *mavis* go back to their own village, while the girl stays with her husband, and is supposed to cry for her mother—some really cry, some only pretend. When the sun goes down, the young couple are told to go into the boy's mother's hut and eat the taro that they will find there. Not many people are there, only the boy's mother and his grandmother. The boy's grandmother tells the girl: 'Now you must not be ashamed before your husband any more.' Then she tells the boy: 'And you, you must not be ashamed before your wife. You two can sleep together on one bed now, and can eat together out of one basket of taro.' Then the two eat, the boy eats first and the girl after him. They eat a piece of pig and a piece of taro. The boy bites off a piece and then gives the rest to the girl. This is to signify that, in future, when the husband eats, he will not finish all the food, but will leave some for his wife, who must finish it, and the girl must take care to provide the man with plenty of food. 'Then the two lie together and have sexual intercourse, they laugh on the bed, they play with each other and talk, and chew the betel-mixture, they 532 do not sleep.'

184 On the Lontis coast, north-western Buka, when a woman who 565 is *tsunun* marries and is escorted to her husband's hut—or rather 585 to his mother's hut, where they will live at first, in most instances—

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[1] In the ordinary way man and wife occupy separate planks, with the usual space between for a smouldering fire.

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she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutf* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

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844 I returned to my own house at intervals during my stay at Tabut.
124 On one of these occasions, when we were discussing the subject, I got Matēv, herself the mother of six children, to give me an account of birth procedure, of which I give a literal translation. I did not interrupt Matēv with questions or comments in the course of this narrative, such explanations as were necessary being obtained afterwards. As it stands, it stresses the points which were uppermost in her mind, and were, therefore, presumably, considered of most importance, thus illustrating the native woman's point of view better than a more detailed and coherent statement obtained by less direct means would have done.

844 "The woman sits on a log. We tire ourselves out with working over the child. Now it hurts, its mother cries out, now we cut some leaves, we make her drink. Now the child is about to be born. Now she is afraid because the child hurts her. She cries out because of the child. Then I say: "You sit quietly, and your child will be born." We do like this (here Matēv went through motions indicating vigorous massage of the woman's abdomen). We shake the child. The child's head comes out first. All the women look. "Stay still, your child will be born easily. Don't break the child in your belly, if you do you will die."

"The woman is delivered of the child. The umbilical cord is fastened to the placenta. The placenta looks like liver. If the child's leg sticks in its mother's genitals, the mother holds her breath, then the child is ready to fall down. We get a coco-nut shell, we catch the blood, we carry it and throw it away in the bush.[1] We get water and pour it over the child, we wash the child. We take a shell-knife, we cut its umbilical cord, and put the afterbirth
[272] into a *kobu*. We bury it in the house. We make *poti* (a drink made of the oil from scraped coco-nut meat squeezed through banana fibre and then boiled) and *kariur* (the same but with some of the coco-nut scrapings added to the liquid). We fetch a bamboo full of water, we rub the woman's belly, we cut a leaf (the leaves used are those of the plant called *kō*, which are large and smooth), we make it hot, we warm the woman's belly. We warm the child. We take a piece of banana fibre, a large piece, and put it round the mother like a belt, then it warms her blood (the idea being that the blood will then run out easily and recovery be hastened). We

[84] [1] It was afterwards explained that some people did this, but others preferred to bury all the blood in the house (as was done at the births witnessed by me).

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524 be played only after the ceremony for the first almonds has been performed, and continued during the time the almonds are ripe, but I have seen it done in December when they are over. The tops are made of the upper end of a coco-nut shell, and are spun either by hand or with fibre string. The ground in the village, being trodden hard, serves well. Young men play as much as boys, but women and girls are not expected to do so—'they don't know how'. They play either singly or in groups. In one game two lines are formed, one line spins and the others throw their tops at the spinning ones to try to knock them over. Up in the hills, I found tops
● [184] made of the shells of the canarium almond, with one end cut off neatly and the cut edges painted with red. These were also spun with string (Pl. 16, No. 4). From the village of Kurtatchi I obtained a form of humming-top, made of a whole coco-nut shell with a spike put through it, on which it revolved, and a hole in one side which caused it to make a noise not unlike that of our own humming-tops (Pl. 16, No. 6). Children also fix spikes through the little green balls of the carophyllum tree and spin them by twisting them between their palms.

The girls have objects which serve as dolls, using for them the word *bai'i*, 'child'. One which I brought home with me consists of a long narrow stone, of the kind picked up in river-beds and often used for various magical purposes (Pl. 16, No. 2). One end, representing its head, is decorated with red and black paint in alternate stripes just as a child's head is decorated for special occasions.
[824] They also make dolls out of the stalk of the shore lily (*Crinum asiaticum*), putting paint on it and cutting marks in it representing cicatrices, with the appropriate patterns for male and female. They put grass at the top of it to represent the cocks' feathers used for head ornaments at feasts, and flowers for a nose-piece, and another flower for a loin-cloth. A doll's house is sometimes made for it out of the leaf sheaths of young plants.

They make several kinds of puzzle patterns by twisting together the fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf or strips of pandanus (Pl. 16, Nos. 3, 5, 7 are examples of these). No. 1 is a 'buzzer' for imitating the noise made by a black insect called *rug*; the toy is swung round by the bit of fibre string of which a small portion is seen below it in the photograph. I have seen a woman make a toy fishing-rod for her child with the mid-rib of a coco-nut and a bit of banana fibre, tying a shred of areca-nut skin on to it for bait. Windmills

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because his father was living at Ruri when the *wapi* ceremony was held there.

With the village of Kurtatchi are associated those of Bebekes, Tabut, Tensoa, Wantoa, Munlus, Baniata, Bonona, Musang, Soringar, and Togaragar. These are all situated on the strip of coast between Kurtatchi and Buka Passage, covering a length of perhaps six or seven miles of it. The six hamlets comprising the village of Ruri, next to Kurtatchi on the eastern side, about three to four miles away, form a group of their own, and the string of villages still farther east, between Ruri and the island of Tiop at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, are also a group by themselves. Another consists of the villages on the foot-hills to the south of Soraken Bay, but not including those of the Kunua district still farther to the south, which again form a separate group. I had no opportunity of ascertaining how far this custom continues beyond the Kunua district on the western side of Bougainville. On the eastern side it extends beyond the north-eastern corner for a few miles only, I believe.

The hats are not worn on Buka or on any of its adjacent islands, but a ceremony having some features similar to the *wapi* ceremony takes place at intervals. It has been witnessed and described by Mr. Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 226 ff.). I could obtain no more than the most meagre scraps of information about it from the people of Petats. At Lontis, on the north-west coast of Buka, I was told that the boys put on the hat for one month, and stay in the bush while wearing it; the day after the month is finished they come back to the village and the hats are burnt at night, in secret. The following account was obtained at Kurtatchi, and applies to all the groups described in the previous paragraph.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

As both the *wapi* ceremonies held during my residence took place at a distance, I was not able to witness the preparations that were made for them. Everything connected with the *wapi* ceremony is kept very secret from the women, but men and boys were willing enough to tell me about these matters, when there were no women within earshot. The listeners were quick to criticize or prompt the narrator, and as accounts received in different villages tally in essentials, I think the details are reliable, though there may be omissions, either inadvertent or intentional.

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A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
574 opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
621 of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself. The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
[578] men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills. The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
[411] of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives, axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion. He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

• 184 The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
177 certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
291 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
184 weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all
302 round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely
291 across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belonging to this group had been through the *matawatʃ* ceremony, and so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

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so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands, reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion, twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures, with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out; only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices at the other performance. They were grouped together with their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar* came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar* was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day, when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them, without seeing this.

This performance of the *wapi* ceremony was not nearly so

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other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

FIG. 8.—Bull-roarer.

There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *auro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wo-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

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and in the ceremony as I saw it, the time during which the girl remained in her mother's hut was only five days. But in discussion, informants told me that she used to remain in her mother's hut for one month after the first discovery of the flux. At Saposa, also, the longer interval was given.

At Saposa there is a further elaboration. A wooden figure, life-size or larger, is carved out of soft wood, to represent a girl ornamented as she would be for this ceremony, with her hair dressed and painted, and a tortoise-shell filigree ornament round her neck. The pattern of the cicatrization on her body is also indicated. This figure is kept in her mother's hut during the period of her seclusion. It appears also at her wedding. One such figure, which I saw during a brief visit to Saposa, had been made for a girl who had died; it was to be burnt after a suitable interval with other of her belongings (Pl. 32).

WOMEN'S VIEWS ON MENSTRUATION

The reason given by the natives for holding the ceremony above described is one which I have not seen put forward elsewhere, namely, to ensure that the girl does not menstruate too frequently or too freely. All the details of the ritual appeared to be directed towards this end, e.g. avoidance of drinking any liquid or eating taro boiled in water during the period of the flux, the use of hard-timbered trees in the preparation of the appropriate mixture to be drunk by all, including the girl herself, at one stage of the proceedings, and the preservation in the rafters of the hut of the package containing the roots and leaves from which this mixture is prepared, to be hardened by the smoke, and thrown away when a child is desired. In all discussions arising out of the ceremony, and from several different informants, this was the only explanation that was forthcoming, and I see no reason to doubt its validity.

The usual duration of the menstrual period *irir* (*ira* = blood) among these women would appear to be three days per month. No one reported a semi-monthly period. A few told me that they had it for one or two days only. One case of five days was reported indirectly; I was also told that the woman in question was not in the habit of taking any of the medicines for controlling the flux which appear to be in universal use. Since data of this sort cannot be checked by personal observation, and in view of the vagueness of all these people in regard to any question of time, I feel no great

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841 into the sea, either to fish or to wash, or she would spoil the fishing. Sexual intercourse is forbidden her until she has performed ceremonial ablutions in the sea after the flow has ceased. I think it probable that there are other taboos which have escaped my notice. [184] Neither at Petats nor at Kurtatchi was it necessary for her to retire to a separate hut, but I am informed that this is customary in some parts of Buka.

There was a certain reticence observable in the demeanour of the women when I tried to investigate questions connected with menstruation, which was entirely absent from our discussions on sexual matters. It is possible that this may have been connected with the horror of menstrual blood shown by other primitive peoples, but I noticed that they were particularly chary of letting me know when they were themselves experiencing the flux, and since some of them were not very punctilious in observing the taboos, this may have been a factor in their reluctance. Perhaps I might have overcome it by greater persistence, but as I did not wish to alienate them, I did not press the matter. Most of the information was obtained while the subject was in their thoughts, on the occasion of the first menstruation ceremony described in the previous pages, which gave me a good excuse for discussing it.

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of the bush, bread-fruits were to be seen lying about on the ground in large quantities in various stages of rottenness, where no one had chanced to pass that way to pick them up.

The bread-fruits are obtained by climbing the tree and knocking them down; those above hand reach are hooked off by jerking them from their stalks with a stick lashed, pointing backwards, on to the end of a long pole.

Bread-fruit is cooked by being laid on the top of a fire of sticks, directly exposed to the flames (Pl. 34). When the outer skin is completely charred, the inside is done to their liking. The blackened skin is scraped off with a black-lip oyster-shell knife, and the soft inside pulled to pieces with the fingers and eaten in great hunks. The large seeds it contains are very much relished. They may be eaten as they are, or cooked again by being laid in the embers, just as we roast chestnuts, which they strongly resemble both in look and flavour. Bread-fruit is never pounded or made into pudding.

Leaves eaten as vegetables. Although the taro plant is cultivated principally for the sake of the tubers, its leaves are also used as food. Other kinds of leaves, grown in the taro garden or wild in the bush, are likewise eaten, also the tender tips of some species of bracken (*Pteris*). They are prepared by being boiled in pots with water, generally sea-water, or with the addition of some sea-water, for the sake of the salt. When done, they look and taste not unlike spinach. In the mountains, where there is no pottery, they are cooked by being thrust into a length of bamboo, without water, the bamboo being then laid on the fire. As I know from experience, the resulting dish is both succulent and tasty. (I was told that pig, cut into small pieces, is also cooked in this way, but I did not see it done.) I have never seen this method of cooking in bamboo without water in use among the coast natives, where it is not necessary since they can obtain, from the women of Malasang, pots in which to boil their food.

Nobody would deliberately cut down a coco-nut palm in order to eat its heart, but if one is blown down, or has to be removed for any reason, the heart is hacked out and eaten with great enjoyment, either raw, or, more frequently, boiled like taro, in a pot lined with leaves.

There is a species of seaweed which can be obtained from the reef at low tide, which is eagerly sought for and eaten just as it comes from the reef, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its saltness.

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are [562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; 184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with [302 red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as 533] they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsumaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or 252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kay*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. 262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

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The work was done very rapidly and was well co-ordinated, so that there was no confusion, although there was a large number of people working in close juxtaposition. Though it was long after noon when the planting started the whole area was covered before sunset, except a few corners where there were not enough stalks to go round. These were finished subsequently, without further ceremony. Almost all the able-bodied people of the village were present, both men and women, with the exception of the boys wearing the *upi*. They were not allowed to come to the garden on that day, but were obliged to stay in or near the village.

The women wore no head covering. They are not allowed to wear their pandanus leaf hoods on this occasion. If any one has a *waris* relative present she must make a hood out of banana leaves. I could get no explanation of this rule against the wearing of the hood, usually very much in evidence on all ceremonial occasions, frequently worn even when custom does not require it, to protect the head when exposed to the heat of the sun, as these women were all this day.

Every one left the garden as soon as the planting was finished. It was not visited again for the next five days. After that work was resumed upon it, the remaining patches were cleared and the odd corners filled.

There was no *kōma* on the evening of the ceremony, and all next day every one stayed about the place doing nothing. They said they were tired after the hard work of planting. There was a *kōma* that evening, especially for the taro garden, but it did not go on all night.

I could get no information as to how long it would be before this taro was ready for use. They seem to judge only by looking at it.

On August 23, 1930, I saw another performance of this ceremony, on the occasion of the planting of a taro garden belonging to the village of Tabut. Although the general course of the proceedings was similar, the whole thing was much less elaborate and carried out with less dramatic effect. The principal performer chewed some roots with areca-nut and the leaves—but not the fruit, which is the usual accompaniment of areca-nut—of the betel-pepper, and touched the heaps of taro stalks with this mixture, which he spat into the palms of his hands (Pl. 39*b*). He did not call upon any *sravr*. I inquired later as to this omission and was told that some people did so and some did not, but that if it had

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been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so. The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *wrar*. It may be that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

Coco-nuts

Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various stages in its development:

Stage of growth.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*Petats dialect.*
Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm	*ûir*	*ûal*
Very young nut	*kuhûts*	*teō*
Young nut before it contains liquid		*pēsis* or *pēli*
Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears	*konpēn*	*kaharut*
Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut')	*mapur*	*irabil*
Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking)	*wini*	*kuvo*
Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable)	*wahamitshoma*	*rut*
Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut)	*mukas* or *makas*	*lap*
Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry	*arop*	*pitor*
Nut the kernel of which has become spongy	*awan*	*tumun*
Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground		*tus* or *alaun*
Nut which has sprouted		*hala*

The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives, &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10s. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

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this form of craft is known, *mon*. Like the dug-out, it appears not to be indigenous. The first place in this region to make such canoes seems, if the native accounts are to be trusted, to have been the Lontis coast, on the north-west of Buka, since the Petats people and the inhabitants of the villages on the coast of Bougainville all say that they learnt the art of making them from the men of Lontis. In certain portions of this latter area the natives still remain ignorant of it. The people of Tiop, an island just round the north-east corner of Bougainville, told me that they had no *mon* and did not know how to make them, and I was given to understand that the people farther down the east coast had none either, though I had no opportunity of verifying this statement personally. Friederici (1912, p. 303) saw them at Teperoi, near Numanuma, still farther down the east coast. At the other corner of the north coast of Bougainville the people of the Saposa islands certainly do not make them, and they account for their ignorance by saying that Morena, who taught them all their crafts (see p. 39), did not teach them how to make *mon*, saying that when they wanted any they could buy them from Lontis or Hanahan, and must pay for them with spears and ceremonial currency. The people of Kurtatchi and the neighbouring villages were unanimous in saying that such boats were not made by them until after the introduction of white men's tools, which are largely employed in their manufacture. The Petats people, however, say that their fathers used to make *mon* with stone tools, and to use a sharply pointed shell for boring the necessary holes by means of which the planks are fixed together.

Friederici (1912, p. 292) derives the Buka *mon*, on the evidence of similarity of technical construction, from the *orembai* of the Moluccas. He gives a comparative list of terms for the different portions of its complex structure which, he says, is sufficient to prove with absolute certainty that the *mon*, with its name, came from the east and north coasts of Buka by way of Nissan, Anir, and Tanga to South New Mecklenburg (the present New Ireland) (pp. 290 ff.).

Material and tools. C. M. Woodford, in his account of the canoes of the British Solomon Islands (1922, p. 508), pertinently remarks: 'It is difficult to understand how the natives were able, before they became acquainted with iron tools, to adze down the canoe planks to the requisite degree of thinness and shape them with the aid only of stone implements.' But he cites the evidence of the early

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verandah, which is covered by the roof but is open in front. This is called the 'eye' of the hut (*matan pi inu*). It serves as a gathering-place for the men for informal discussions of matters of importance, as well as for social chats. In it are kept the slit-gongs belonging to the *tsunaun*, one at least, and possibly two.

All the able-bodied men and boys in the village are expected to help in the building of a house, but most of the work will be done by the owner and his more intimate friends. The workmen are not paid, but can count upon similar assistance when they require it. The old men say that the younger ones are now no longer willing to help in this way, they only want to go off into the bush or to laze on the shore. Even in the case of the men's houses, much exhortation on the part of the *tsunaun* was necessary before the requisite amount of labour was forthcoming.

Dimensions of Huts in Kurtatchi Village

	ft.	in.
Total length of principal hut	46	2
Open front portion ('eye') of this hut (under roof and included in total length)	11	0
Length of ordinary hut varies, average about	30	0
Total width, the same for all huts	11–12	0
Height, from ridge-pole to ground	10	0
Height of side-walls (*oror*), approx.	2	0
Height of platform, front and back, approx.	2–3	0
Height of a typical doorway	1	9
Width of a typical doorway	1	4

Variations. In some of the hill villages, the front and back of the huts, instead of being closed with sheets of bark or with planks, are constructed of bamboo twisted and plaited into elaborate patterns, or laced together somewhat after the manner of a Venetian blind. Where this is found in the coast villages, as it sometimes is, e.g. at Saposa, it is done in imitation of the practice of the hill people, on the suggestion of the mission, as an improvement on the usual type of coast house. On the islands of Petats, Pororan, and Hitau, the missionaries are encouraging the building of houses of an entirely different style, raised on piles, with high walls and a pitched roof (see Pl. 3 *b*). These are rapidly replacing the old-style huts, and the innovation is gradually spreading. On Petats hardly any of the old-style huts remain. There is no doubt that the raising of the house on piles, necessitating the construction of a plank floor in place of the bare ground, and the additional air and light obtained by

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dropped some excrement on to the coco-nut shell, and it flared up; this was the first fire.

It will be noticed that neither of these versions account for the process of making fire by rubbing. But the second story, which I heard at Tiop, tells how a man and his wife, while drying their taro in the sun, saw two branches which were being rubbed together by the wind. They tried it for themselves, and first smoke came from the sticks and then flame. Then they brought wood and made a big fire and cooked their bananas on it. At first the other men were afraid, but presently they came and asked where the two had found this thing. They said they had found it in the bush. Then they showed all the people how to make fire and how to keep it alight.

WOMEN'S WORK

Pottery

There is only one place in Buka and North Bougainville where pottery is made.[1] This is the group of six small hamlets, three on the cliff and three on the shore below, which make up the village of Malasang, on the east coast of Buka towards its southern end, about six miles from the entrance to Buka Passage.

All the women of Malasang know how to make pots; they teach the craft to their daughters and to the wives of their sons. A novice starts by making small pots, increasing the size of her products as she grows more skilful. Only a few of the women can make the very largest pots. There seems to be no standard of skill except as regards size. I did not hear of any woman noted for making especially fine or well-shaped ones. They are made in large numbers, far in excess of domestic requirements, since there is a market for them over the whole of Buka and North Bougainville.

Materials.

There are two ingredients in the mixture from which the pots are made. The bulk of it consists of a greenish clay called *petako*. It is quite plentiful in the bush, and is uncovered by the pigs in their search for water. The other ingredient is called *mĕmia*, and

[1] Pottery is also made on the east coast of Bougainville, near Kieta, where the technique is similar, but the shape slightly different, and at Buin on the extreme southern end of the island; the manufacture of the latter I have not seen (Pl. 61*a*, no. 4).

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occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62*a*). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

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people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3*s.* of our money for a plain hood and 5*s.* or 6*s.* for an ornamented one.

Sleeping Mats

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night.

Baskets

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process.

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under

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285 them. The result is a basket with a very open mesh, with the holes in the shape of large polygons in even rows. It is called *aunat* in
● [184] the Petats dialect. I did not see anything of this kind at Kurtatchi.

Plaiting, done by both sexes.

285 415 A third kind of basket is made by both men and women, by the simple method of taking a length of the leaf of the coco-nut palm, cut to the size required, splitting its mid-rib to form the brim, and plaiting the fronds together for the sides (Pl. 62*a*). The bottom consists of the ends of the plaited fronds knotted together. These baskets are intended for temporary use only, and are thrown away when done with. The women use them chiefly for putting cooked taro ready in the rafters or other convenient place so that members of the family can help themselves when they are hungry. The men use them to carry their pipes, tobacco, and the ingredients for chewing the betel-mixture. For this purpose the men make them with a hole in the middle of each side, near the top, through which they thrust their hands and wrists, for convenience in carrying.

342 The fronds of coco-nut palm leaves are also plaited together to make a covering for the ridge-pole of the huts, to block an opening, or to make a partition or a screen from the wind. The fronds on the left side of one leaf and the right side of another are stripped off, the leaves laid side by side with the sides on which the fronds still remain turned towards each other. The mid-ribs, laid bare on the other side, then form the outer edges of the matting, which is made by intertwining the fronds of one leaf with the fronds of the other (Pl. 62*b*). If a very wide piece of plaiting is required, three leaves may be used, the fronds on both sides of the extra one being intertwined with those of the two others, which are placed one on each side of it, the edges of the finished article being formed of the mid-rib of the outer ones.

NOTE ON STONE IMPLEMENTS

412 324 177 The stone implements of the olden days have now been entirely superseded by trade knives, axes, and adzes, which can be obtained from the planters' stores, or are brought back by men returning from indentured labour at Rabaul or elsewhere. But the use of these latter has been general only for about two generations, and numerous specimens of stone implements are still lying about the villages, some being used to grind the blades of their modern

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Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

name of the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos, the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is restricted to persons who are *tsunaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of *paio* (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan* (shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint). The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instrument in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker, together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking. If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

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534 This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *hōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

533 534 *Method of use.* The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*), which is generally made of several small canes lashed together in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-
533 534 562 gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion
[304] with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr.
● [184] Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

533 The rhythm for a *hōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

/ / /.....| / / /.....| / / /.....|

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve

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535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red.* Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*, [439] and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

386 [824] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton

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302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[75] [404] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 ●184 856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 593 The father of a boy wearing the *spi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 589 765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

302 [412 177] Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

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of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to the olden times.

Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*, Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round the neck or waist or hung over the shoulder. Anything worn across the shoulders is referred to as *sawiro*, if put round the waist the word is *wõs*.

Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks not unlike leather.

The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me, and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no attempt to copy it.

The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

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Sometimes they say the hole is painful and will leave it empty for a few days.

Several people had the septum torn right through. This means that the unfortunate individual cannot wear a nose-piece any more, since there is no way of mending it.

Ears. The ears are pierced at about the same age as the septum, sometimes at the same ceremony, but this is usually considered to be too much for the child. It is done in the same way as the septum. I had no opportunity of seeing this operation. The people of Buka and North Bougainville bore one hole only. The Kunua people bore two small ones; they wear the bone of a flying fox threaded through both holes, and an ornament made of tortoise-shell and disks made of flat sections of a small shell (*popoli*) may be hung on it (Pl. 67, no. 6).

Where there is only one hole, a number of small tortoise-shell rings (*wawakut*) are worn, from which *popoli* are hung. All sorts of things may be put into the hole, rolled leaves, sticks of tobacco, &c. My empty cartridge cases introduced a new fashion. I have also seen shillings carried thus, though these are more likely to be placed inside the ear. The lobe is frequently greatly elongated; when in this condition a pipe stem may be put through the hole and the lobe twisted round to keep it in position. Any article put through the hole in the ear-lobe is called *wapis*.

Owing to the strain to which they are thus subjected, ear-lobes are often torn right through. There is no method of repairing this injury, but another hole may be made above it. The ear-lobe is never torn intentionally.

Teeth. There is no extraction, filing, or other manipulation of the teeth. Gaps are frequently seen, even in young people, but this is due to the teeth falling out on account of disease. The teeth are always, except in quite young children, discoloured by constant chewing of the betel-mixture.

Cicatrization.

Tattooing is not practised. It would not show to advantage on these dark skins. Its place is taken by cicatrization. There are two distinct types of marking. One may be put on at any time, and is done either by the individual himself or by a friend; the other is a ceremonial affair performed in childhood by certain recognized practitioners.

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304 [88] The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1] On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It [832] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman, she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 184 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus ⸗⸗ in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the [565] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical [171] with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.
192 *gom*, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.
lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).

lalōm

wabuin

[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

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APPENDIX I

Description of part of plan of Kurtatchi

1. 'Long house' belonging to the *tsunaun*, Pinari, with its 'eye' (roofed porch open in front, used as a meeting-place for the men). In the house itself live: 361 592
   Gomar, now Pinari's chief wife (his first wife being dead).
   Ira, her daughter, married but not living with her husband.
   Rudi, infant still suckling, son of Gomar and Pinari.
   Busa, about 6, son of Pinari by a wife now dead
   Kela, about 5, son of another dead wife of Pinari by her former husband.
   Sang, wife of Pinari recently taken over from his dead brother.
   Komul, another wife of Pinari, whose hut has not yet been brought over from Gomen.
2. Kwimau, wife of Pinari.
   Duvril, aged about 6–7, and Togomen (suckling), her sons.
   Pinari divides his time between this hut and No. 1.
3. Pari, Pinari's widowed sister.
   Rus, young widow, daughter of Matēv.
   Wanias, about 4, Rus's son.
4. Matēv, widow, Pinari's 'sister' (actually his mother's sister's daughter).
   Kakari, her son, aged about 19–20.
   Waror, her daughter, aged about 7–8.
   Muben, Kakari's wife, aged 14–15.
   Before Kakari's marriage, Rus and Wanias lived here. When Kakari brought home his bride, they moved to No. 3. After the young couple had lived here for about six months, Matēv told him he ought to build a hut for himself in the space to the left, but he had not made any attempt to do so when I left three months later.
5. Space intended for hut belonging to Komul, not yet brought over from Gomen. Komul meanwhile sleeps in No. 1.
6. Sobak, an elderly man.
   Tsonakets, his wife.
   Bawt, her sister, widow of a man of Hanahan, who came here to be near Tsonakets.
   Kabo, Omi, and Mēbi, Bawt's three sons. Kabo is of an age to wear the *api*, but as this custom is not practised at Hanahan he has 361 592 184

[text continues on p. 585] [p. 585]

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never put it on, and can therefore enter this hut if he wishes. He usually sleeps in the *tobar* with the other boys of his age. Omi and Mēbi are younger.

7. Space for hut belonging to Wasē, Pinari's son, not yet moved from Gomen. He and his family are at present living in No. 8.

8. Matarē, man belonging to Timputs, husband of
Marotē, Pinari's daughter by his first wife.
Hut at present shared with
Wasē, Marotē's brother, his two wives Takon and Tahol, and Tahol's son, Nomoin (suckling). (Takon has not reached puberty.)

9. Togen, brother of Matarē, husband of
Pesē, sister of Marotē.
Their daughter Gaua, aged about 5–6, and their son Gav (suckling).
Kikis, girl of about 9, whose parents are dead. Related to Pesē's mother. (Spends some of her time with her mother's people at Ieta.)
Hut at present shared with
Tchiriv, a protégé of Pinari's, and Tarubi his wife, who came from Ruri. At Gomen they lived with Komul. They were considering building a hut for themselves when I left Kurtatchi.

10. Wakos, widow of Krapen (son of Pasu and Pasis).
Bunakets, mother of Wakos, a very old woman.
Three daughters of Wakos, Laia, in her teens, married to a man away at work; Bios, aged 5–6, No, aged about 2.

11. Pasu, sister of Wanawatch, widow of Pasis, Pinari's mother's brother.
Gerigir, her son, and Kalo his wife (when she can be persuaded to stay here; often she goes back to her mother in another village).
Tapē, daughter of Pasu, married to a man away at work.
Tchub, recently become a widower, son of Pasu. (Often sleeps in the *tobar*, and began a hut (11a) for himself shortly before I left, in which to set up a new household.) Has one young son, living with his dead wife's sister at Ruri.

12. Kio, wife of Wanawatch.
Puta, her daughter by a former husband.
Nok, aged 3–4, daughter of Kio and Wanawatch (died during my stay).
Pirier, husband of Puta.
Walala, daughter of Puta and Pirier (suckling).
Wawaua, first wife of Wanawatch, now blind.

13. Wanawatch (generally, occasionally at 12). Belongs to Baniu, came here to be near his sister Pasu.

supervision as plantation workers. The information of younger workers has constantly been compared with the statements of older ones, as well as with the results of my own on-the-spot observations. Any divergences in these statements or from my own observations I have always been able to explain by the fact that slight differences appear in various districts. In my homeland I never caught my sources of information telling a real lie; on the contrary, they frequently rectified my own observations in cases where I had gotten on the wrong track as a result of insufficient linguistic knowledge and incomplete observation. 124

[2] My remarks relate primarily to the coastal inhabitants. Despite various attempts I have never reached the true interior of Bougainville. But I recently succeeded in bringing a few highly alert young men of the interior to Ralum. I found out many things from them, mainly information that confirmed what the coastal inhabitants had already told me. These people, however, live in the Emperor Range in the northern half of Bougainville and differ essentially from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range; up until now we know nothing reliable about the latter. What I have heard about them is so contradictory and sometimes even so fantastic that I am unable to base any reliable statements upon it. Up until now I have not been able to obtain workers from the southern interior of Bougainville; the few individuals whom I had a chance to observe were allegedly prisoners of war from the interior and differed distinctly from the coastal inhabitants, but I was able to find out practically nothing from them. For the time being therefore I place no credence in the statement frequently made by the coast inhabitants that a tribe of pygmies is supposed to live in the interior. Granted, the inland inhabitants whom I have seen from that region are strikingly small, but to conclude from this that there is a whole tribe of pygmies seems to me too bold--all the more so since I know from long experience that the coastal inhabitants are inclined to ascribe all sorts of fabulous characteristics to the inhabitants of the interior whenever their own knowledge is not complete. The pygmies in the interior of South Bougainville, therefore, probably came from the same source as the men with tails in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula. 184 ●

In view of the narrow width of the island (never more than 35 nautical miles) one might be inclined to assume that the coastal population and the inland population are not essentially different. My

observations, however, place it beyond any doubt that a difference really exists and that it is not only an ethnographic one, but possibly also anthropological.[1] The inland inhabitants are shorter and thinner than the coastal inhabitants; their arms and legs are less muscular; the upper part of the body is more highly developed in comparison with the lower extremities (especially lengthwise); and their skin color is always completely black. I scarcely need to mention the fact that the language is different. On the other hand it is extremely interesting that the weapons of the coastal inhabitants are produced almost exclusively by the inlanders and are obtained from them by way of trade. (1) This is all the more astonishing since the material

1. The tribes of the interior, who live in the ravines and on the declivities of the steep mountains, seem to have only slight intercourse with one another; in any case none exists between the mountain inhabitants of the northern half of the island and those of the southern half. The northern Emperor Range is completely cut off from the southern Crown Prince Range by a deep depression which, according to statements of the natives, is only slightly above sea level at Empress Augusta Bay; as a matter of fact, from the east as well as the west wide swampy plains extend far inland. There is a much more active intercourse among the various coastal inhabitants. From Buka and the north coast of Bougainville boats go to Cap le Cras on the east coast and to Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast and sometimes even farther. From the Shortland Islands in the Bougainville Strait and from Mono Island, which lies farther southwest, extended journeys are made to the north; the deceased chieftains Gorai from Shortland and Mule from Mono had undertaken trips to Buka on various occasions and knew not only

[1] [i.e. physical Anthropological. — Analyst]

the names of the various small islands at the northwest corner of Bougainville, but also the names of the local chieftains. In Empress Augusta Bay I found people from Mono and Shortland who had settled there; in the village of Nomanoma on the east coast I met a native I knew from Buka who had married a Nomanoma woman and as a result had settled there. Gorai in Shortland told me that his father, a native of Mono, had subjugated and exterminated the original local population with the aid of his people; he claimed that the present-day inhabitants of the Shortland Islands comprised recent settlers from all the surrounding islands. Among Gorai's numerous wives many came from Bougainville, some from Mono, and others from Choiseul. From all of this it becomes apparent that the coastal population, for generations, has frequently shifted and been moved about, whereas the inland population in its inaccessible mountain position was, to be sure, exposed to the attacks of the coastal inhabitants (of whom certain individuals were occasionally led into captivity as slaves), yet preserved its character in a purer and more pristine condition than the coastal inhabitants, who have been exposed to so many influences. [567]

for their manufacture is also present in the coastal regions and since, as a matter of fact, the inlanders can obtain many things that they use for making them only by bartering with the coastal peoples. I can explain this circumstance only in this way: the coastal inhabitants were later intruders from other Melanesian Islands who were not familiar with these weapons. Comprehending their great advantages, they took over their use and procured them from the original inhabitants. We find bows, arrows, and spears as instruments of war in Buka and Bougainville, on the islands in the Bougainville [3] Strait and on Mono.

534 Even to this day the process is similar except that steel chisels and [177] adzes have been brought into play by the experts.

[178] The size of the *tui* varies. On Pororan Island (situated five miles west of the Buka mainland) there are three standard sizes: the *tui*, the *halan* and the *king*. The former measures about eight feet long and four feet high; the *halan*, five feet by two feet, and the *king* three feet by one foot.

The fact that the word *tui* is used for the large drum and *king* for the smaller size prompted me to make searching enquiry as to their etymological origin to see if I might connect them with the Fijian *tui* (king) but, so far as I can gather, the words originated simply from their close resemblance to the sound which both these instruments make.

202 For signalling the *tui* is used exclusively, and one is to be found in every *tsuhan*, or master's house, in the village. The beating is done by hitting the drum sharply, near the top in the centre with [324] the soft-nosed *tsinoi*, or beater, which consists of a number of thick strips of the lawyer vine about six feet in length, bound closely together at the striking end, allowing the other end of the strips to remain loose. These, by a certain twist of the wrist, create a rustling accompaniment to the beats when excitement runs high during a dance. No special men in a village are invested with the privilege of beating a *tui*, though uninitiated boys are not supposed to do so. Women, on the occasion of their own dances, are allowed to beat one.

535 During dances (*guma*) the *tui* and *king* are used. The *king*
533 commences and continues with a uniform series of short beats, which attain a higher and more penetrating note than the deep-toned *tui*, even as the word *king* when pronounced sharply. The *tui* beats are varied according to the humour and the ability of the man employed as beater. Usually the beats are:

— — — . . . . . — — — — . . . . . —[1]

Beats continue for a period of from one to two minutes and then *tui* and *king* cease simultaneously, the signal being two or three louder beats made on the *tui*. If the cessation of beats is not simul-

[1] A long beat is represented by a dash; a short one by a dot.

taneous the dancers and singers show their disapproval by a series of cat-calls and disparaging remarks on the ability of the beaters.

Throughout the main island of Buka and the adjacent islands there is one signal which is commonly known. That is the one announcing the arrival of a stranger or strangers of importance to the village. This signal is called *asosoat*, and is the only signal which is generally adopted. Each district has a code of its own, and these codes seem to be governed according to the distribution of dialectical change.[2]

The Pororan signalling code is limited in comparison with that of the Solos district, where the inhabitants are solely bush natives and have an extensive and detailed code. The chief Pororan signals, made up of *sinak* (long beats) and *hatut* (short beats), consist of:

1. General muster (*ngong-ngok*): ... — ... — ... —
2. Call for the chief (*ngong-ngok*): — — — ... — . — — — — ... — . — —
3. The arrival of a stranger of importance (*asosoat*): — — — ....
4. A death (*tan ni matano*): — — — — — — — — — — — — ... ... — — — — — — — — — — —
5. Purchasing a wife when the bride-price, or *tsinahan*, has been paid (*tsinahan*): — — — — — — . . . . . — — . . . . . — — — — . . . . . — — — — — — — — — — — —